

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0308

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, MZ, US
SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO MACHEL

REF: (A) STATE 62036, (B) MAPUTO 203, (C) MAPUTO 305

1. I CONCUR WHOLEHEARTEDLY IN APPROACH PROPOSED REFTEL A. TEXT AND TONE OF MESSAGE ARE EXCELLENT. APPROACH SHOULD ELICIT FROM MACHEL WHETHER HE IS AT ALL INTERESTED IN IMPROVING BILATERAL RELATIONS. EquALLY IMPORTANT, MESSAGE HOLDS OPEN THE PROSPECT OF A DIALOGUE ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN MATTERS, WHICH IN TERMS U.S. INTERESTS, IS PROBABLY MORE IMPORTANT TO US THAN A DIALOGUE ON BILATERAL MATTERS. (SEE REFTEL C FOR EMBASSY'S ASSESSMENT OF U.S. INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO MOZAMBIQUE.)

2. AS DEPARTMENT APPRECIATES, IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS IS LIKELY TO BE A DIFFICULT AND SLOW PROCESS AT BEST. TEN YEARS OF UNHAPPINESS WITH PAST U.S. POLICY STILL WEIGH HEAVILY HERE AND MACHEL AND TOP GPRM OFFICIALS STILL HAVE STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT DEALING WITH US. REGARDLESS OF WHAT WE DO BILATERALLY, I DO NOT BELIEVE THERE IS ANY CHANCE IN SHORT TERM THAT MACHEL WILL MODERATE HIS GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-U.S. AND PRO-COMMUNIST POLICIES. IN FACT, OVER THE NEXT COUPLE OF YEARS HE MAY DRAW EVEN CLOSER TO THE COMMUNIST CAMP.

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EM EVEN THOUGH PROSPECTS OF ANY SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS ARE POOR, I AM CONVINCED WE SHOULD MAKE THE ATTEMPT. LIKE IT OR NOT, THE GPRM IS A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD. I DOUBT, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT THERE CAN BE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OR TRANSITION IN ZIMBABWE IF MACHEL DECIDES OTHERWISE. HS INFLUENCE WITH THE ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS, HIS

SUPPORT FROM THE COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, ANDMOZAMBIQUE'S GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION GIVE HIM THE CAPACITY TO PLAY THE SPOILER ROLE IF HE WANTS TO. MOREOVER, HE MAY BE ON THE SCENE FOR A LONG TIME. IN MY JUDGMENT, IT IS IN BOTH OUR SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM INTERESTS THAT WE SEARCH FOR WAYS TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH HIM. HIS MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CARTER (REFTEL B) SUGGESTS HE MAY BE RECEPTIVE TO SUCH AN APPROACH.

4. WE HAVE MADE SOME SLIGHT PROGRESS IN OUR RELATIONS WITH MACHEL DURING THE PAST YEAR, THANKS LARGEY TO THE INTEREST WE BEGAN TO SHOW LAST YEAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND TO THE EFFOTS WE MADE WITH THE BRITISH TO ACHIEVE MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. THE GRANT OF \$14.5 MILLION TO MOZAMBIQUE ALSO HELPED. FINALLY, MACHEL IS ENOUGH OF A REALIST TO KNOW THAT WE TOO ARE A FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH - IN FACT, HEPROBABLY EXAGGERATES THE INFLUENCE WE CAN EXERT ON VORSTER AND SMITH - AND HE SEEMS TO PERCEIVE A CERTAIN USEFULNESS IN DEALING WITH US ON REGIONAL MATTERS AS WELL AS IN MAINTAINING BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH US.

5. WHILE MACHEL WILL PROBABLY WANT TO KEEP HIS DISTANCE FROM US PUBLICLY, I THINK HE MAY BE READY TO OPEN UP A BIT MORE PRIVATELY. IF MACHEL IS MORE ACCESSIBLE TO US, SOME OF THE OTHER MINISTERS AR LIKELY TO BE TOO. THIS WILL BE HELPFUL SINCE IT WILL GIVE US AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN U.S. POLICIES AND TO START TO ERODE THE NOTION THAT THE U.S. IS A DEMON THAT SHOULD BE AVOIDED AT ALL COSTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, I DO NOT BELIEVE THE GPRM IS AS YET READY TO ENGAGE IN A CULTURAL EXCHANCE PROGRAM WITH HE U.S., NOR DO I BELIEVE MORE CONTACTS WITH GOVERNMENT LEADERS WILL RESULT IN ANY MODERATION IN THE ANTI-AMERICAN BIAS

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IN THE MEDIA, WHICH IS FIRMLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE IDEOLOGUES IN THE PARTY.

6. ALSO I DO NOT BELIEVE WE ARE LIKELY TO OPEN UP MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR U.S. TRADE OR INVESTMENT THROUGH DIALOGUE. FOR THE TIME BEING, MARKET FACTORS AND THE GPRM BIAS IN FAVOR OF THE "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES LIMIT OUR PROSPECTS. HOWEVER, AFTER A PERIOD OF DECREASED U.S. EXPORTS TO MOZAMBIQUE FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE, CONTACTS BY U.S. FIRMS WITH PRIVATE MOZAMBICAN COMPANIES ARE INCREASING, AND WE HAVE RECEIVED SEVERAL COMMERCIAL INQUIRIES FROM GPRM AGENCIES AND OFFICIALS. SOME U.S. FIRMS (NOTABLY CATERPILLAR, GE, RCA, AND BOEING) HAVE EXCELLENT LOCAL REPUTATIONS. MORE OPPORTUNITIES TO INCREASE U.S. EXPORTS TO MOZAMBIQUE MAY ARISE AS THE COUNTRY DISENGAGES FROM SOME OF ITS TRADITIONAL COMMERCIAL LINKS WITH THE PORTUGUESE, AND THE GPRM BEGINS TO IMPLEMENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. ONTHE OTHER HAND, GIVEN THE STRONG ANTI-CAPITALIST BIAS OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE DEPRESSED ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, AND THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INVESTMENT POLICY, PROSPECTS FOR INCREASED U.S. INVESTMENT ARE

POOR. HOWEVER, A DISCUSSION OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT SHOULD GIVE US A CLEARER IDEA OF WHAT VALUE MACHEL PLACES ON COMMERCIAL LINKS WITH THE U.S., AND THE ROLE HE PERCEIVES FOR PRIVATE FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 0308

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7. U.S. ASSISTANCE IS UNDOUBTEDLY A SUBJECT THE GPRM WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WITH US. MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT DOS SANTOS HAS INDICATED GPRM READINESS TO ENTER INTO A BILATERAL AID RELATIONSHIP WITH US. Owing TO THE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT U.S. AID FOR FY77, I HAVE PURPOSEFULLY SHIED AWAY FROM RAISING THE SUBJECT WITH HIM OR HIS DEPUTY JOAO COSME. OBVIOUSLY, IF THERE IS A POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING AID FOR MOZAMBIQUE IN FY 1977, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO KNOW ABOUT THIS BEFORE MY MEETING WITH MACHEL. AN ABSENCE OF AID FOR FY 1977, HOWEVER, IS NOT CRUCIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF OUR APPROACH, PROVIDED THERE IS A GOOD PROSPECT FOR AID FOR MOZAMBIQUE IN FY 1978. AT THIS STAGE, WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS THAT WE BE IN A POSITION TO INDICATE OUR WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS FUTURE U.S. ASSISTANCE, EVEN THOUGH DELIVERIES OF AID CANNOT BE EFFECTED UNTIL SOMETIME INTO FY 1978. Owing TO GPRM RESERVATIONS ABOUT FOREIGN TECHNICAL PERSONNEL, I RECOMMEND THAT FOR THE NEXT YEAR AT LEAST OUR EFFORTS BE DIRECTED TOWARDS PROVIDING FOOD AID, RATHER THAN PROJECT ASSISTANCE. FOOD AID HAS THE ADDED ADVANTAGE OF BEING JUSTIFIABLE ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS, AND IS THE KIND OF AID THAT WE CAN DISENGAGE FROM RAPIDLY AND WITH A MINIMUM OF COMPLICATIONS IF DEVELOPMENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE SHOULD TAKE A TURN NOT TO OUR LIKING.

8. ABOVE ARE MY GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE APPROACH PROPOSED BY THE DEPARTMENT. I HAVE ONLY MINOR SUGGESTION WITH REGARD TO THE

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DRAFT MESSAGE AND TALKING POINTS.

A. WITH RESPECT TO THE LETTER, I RECOMMEND THAT WE ADD A PARAGRAPH CALLING ATTENTION TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S PROPOSAL TO THE SOVIETS THAT WE EXERCISE MUTUAL MILITARY RESTRAINT IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. THIS IS A SUBJECT OF GREAT INTEREST TO MACHEL, AND REFERENCE TO OUR PROPOSAL SHOULD MAKE HIM SOMEWHAT MORE INTERESTED IN PURSUING A DIALOGUE WITH US. SUCH A PARAGRAPH MIGHT READ AS FOLLOWS:

QUOTE: ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELD AND AMBASSADOR DE PREE HAVE REPORTED TO ME YOUR INTEREST IN A REDUCTION OR ELIMINATION OF MILITARY ACTIVITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. I SHARE THIS INTEREST. I HAVE ALREADY PROPOSED TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT IN OUR TALKS ON ARMS CONTROL WE TRY TO REACH AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL MILITARY RESTRAINT IN THE AREA. I HOPE SOME MEANINGFUL PROGRESS CAN BE MADE SOON ON THIS MATTER. END QUOTE.

B. FOR THE TALKING POINTS, I RECOMMEND THAT I START WITH A FEW UP-BEAT COMMENTS WITH RESPECT TO OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. I SUGGEST THE TALKING POINTS READ AS FOLLOWS:

(1) SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS EIGHTEEN MONTHS AGO, WE BELIEVE A GOOD BEGINNING HAS BEEN MADE. WE VERY MUCH APPRECIATE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELD AND OTHER VISITORS AND TO TALK WITH US ON THE SUBJECTS OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA; WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL CONTINUE TO SHARE WITH US YOUR VIEWS AS WE PURSUE OUR EFFORTS TO CONTRIBUTE TO A JUST AND SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY THE ROLE SOME OF OUR PRIVATE AMERICAN COMPANIES ARE PLAYING IN MOZAMBIQUE (GENERAL TIRE COMPANY, CATERPILLAR, RCA, CASHEW AND SUGAR IMPORTERS. FINALLY WE ARE PLEASED THAT THE MISSIONARIES HAVE BEEN RELEASED, AND THANK YOU FOR YOUR INTERVENTION IN THEIR BEHALF.

(2). THE UNITED STATES IS GREATLY INTERESTED IN PURSUING A DIALOGUE WITH MOZAMBIQUE ON HOW OUR RELATIONS CAN CONTINUE TO

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DEVELOP. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT BY WORKING TOGETHER, AND THROUGH A FRANK EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, OUR TWO COUNTRIES CAN BUILD A FIRM AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP.

(3). MOZAMBIQUE HAS MANY FRIENDS IN THE U.S. AND IN OUR CONGRESS AND THERE IS CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN YOUR NATION AND ITS FUTURE. HOWEVER, INFORMATION ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE IN THE UNITED

STATES IN SPARESE AND OFTEN DISTORTED. WE HOPE THAT DURING THIS COMING YEAR MORE OF OUR MEDIA PEOPLE WILL BE ABLE TO VISIT MOZAMBIQUE TO RPORT FROM FIRST-HAND EXPERIENCE WHAT YOU HAVE ACCOMPLISHED. WE HOPE TOO THAT WE MAY HAVE A BETTER OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT U.S. POSITIONS THROUGH YOUR MEDIA.

(4). WE ARE PLEASED THAT WE COULD BE OF ASSISTANCE TO YOUR GOVERNMENT ANDPEOPLE IN SUPPORT OF YOUR DECISION TO CLOSE THE BORDER WITH RHODESIA AND THAT WE WERE ABLE TO OFFER SOME FLOOD RELIEF ASSISTANCE. WE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS WAYS IN WHICH THE U.S. CAN E OF FUTURE ASSISTANCE TO MOZAMBIQUE, ACCORDING TO YOUR NEEDS AND OUR ABILITIES. WE WOULD LIKE TO EXPLORE EXPANSION OF TRADE TIES AND TO LEARN YOUR GOVERNMENT'S VIEWS ON FOREIGN INVESTMENT.

(5). IF YOU SEE MERIT IN UNDERTAKING A QUITE EXPLORATION OF GREATER COOPERATION, WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR VIEWS ON WHAT ISSUES SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND HOW CONSULTATIONS SHOULD BE PURSUED.

9. I PREFER TO DEFER MY SUGGESTIONS ON NEXT STEPS UNTIL WE KNOW MACHEL'S RESPONSE TO OUR APPROACH. IN GENERAL, I BELIEVE U.S. INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED IF WE DO NOT FORCE OURSELVES ON THE MOZAMBICANS, BUT RESPOND PROMPTLY AND POSITIVELY TO INDICATIONS FROM THEM THAT THEY MAY WISH TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH US.

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